/885 cont./

to me about her in very unfavorable terms (in this connection see the account on p. 383 /unvamiated/).

Formerly, as we have said, adulterous acts had to be anxiously concealed from the eyes of the injured partner. If a man caught his wife, he thrashed her soundly and watched her more closely after that. If, moreover, he learned the identity of the other guilty party, he beat him if he was a match for him, or he summoned his own relatives to help (86). In any case he left the

86. Martial:199 describes the punishment of an adulterer which he himself observed in Orange Bay.

vicinity with his undependable wife. Many a man only gradually recovered from his wife's misstep and only after he had repeatedly thrashed her (87). It never went so far as conscious killing:

87. According to Hyades (p):326 and (d):309, "Adultery of the wife is punished by beatings which the husband or her parents inflict on the guilty party and her accomplice" /translated from French/.

there is the possibility, however, that a woman may have succumbed as a result of heavy blows (88). It very seldom happened

88. Martial:199 and also Dabbene (b):189 express themselves in the same vein. It is not correct to speak of actual murder on the part of the husband. The assertion by Outes (g):58 is as false as it is emphatic.

that a man dismissed his faithless wife forever solely because of this offense, even though she may have stayed with her lover for a time and later returned to the hut of her lawful husband (89). If, however, it could be proved that she became

89. Martial:199 tells of an adulteress who

/689 cont./

586 drives away a young wife from her husband, even though she has children, which sometimes are taken by the father if he loves them, and otherwise by the mother" /cited in English/. Not even the children of the couple prevent a divorce if the woman is repeatedly in danger of being mistreated. She herself does not complain to her own husband, but suffers silently. One of her male [604] relatives, however, above all her uncle, goes to him and reminds him of his duty. If repeated admonitions are fruitless, he threatens to remove the wife. She finally runs away with the help and under the protection of her relatives.

586 She often urgently needs this protection because the disap-
579 pointed husband will not willingly give her up, but pursues her or
•627 constantly threatens her. On December 20, 1875, Bridges wrote: "Hidugalahgoon came here with a wife, that had been the wife of a man who had been very violent to her. Her mother was her fellow wife. She has two children by her former husband. The young fellow seemed very fond of her, and she of him; he had many friends here whom he was diligent to move in his favour by descanting upon the cruelties of the man, he feared, to his wife... The Easterns soon came up, and clustered around Philip's dwelling, where Hidugalahgoon and his wife lived. They began speaking quietly, and becoming more excited, gradually became vociferous and beat the woman, and compelled her to return to her former husband. But she would not stay, and then took shelter with Stephen. Thence again she was forced to come, but she was determined to kill her child; several evenings there was turmoil over this matter, and once considerable fighting. I took up the matter, and stated God's holy will on the subject, but the woman was very obstinate and would not return. Her late husband then gave her up, but required some compensation, for he felt, in losing his young wife, he had lost much. Being consulted by Hidugalahgoon, I advised that he should, under the circumstances, give what he could to restore peace" /cited in English/ (MM:X, 80;1875) (100).

100. A few months previously, on July 30, 1875, he experienced another incident: "A young man, commonly called Tom Post, is son-in-law to a native of this place. Last autumn several disturbances took place here,

/689 cont./

586 578 627

caused principally by him. He ill-treated his wife, who was so offended that she refused to live with him, and took up her abode with her parents, who warmly took up her cause. He had also grieved his wife by other gross misconduct. There was accordingly a great disturbance, in which very many were concerned, and Tom Pott had his head badly wounded. He came to me to get it bound up, when I took the opportunity to reason with him. In his great rage against his wife (who is also a bad character) and her relatives he was blind to his own faults; he promised amendment. He said he would remain single" /cited in English/ (MM: IX, 191;1878).

The position of the run-away wife can become unpleasant if the relatives of her lawful husband are numerous and bold, for they naturally take his part.

586 /690/ The woman, also, though less frequently, may be the cause of dissolution of the marriage. If she is so uncommonly lazy and careless that the whole family suffers badly, the man is forced to look for another partner. To his chagrin, the wife nevertheless does not leave, and he can do nothing but drag her along whether he likes it or not. An incapacity to work because of illness or old age never leads to divorce, for the man is at liberty to take a young, healthy woman besides his first wife. An unbearable disposition which the woman may develop in the course of the years can torture a man to such an extent that he has no other recourse but to flee into the arms of another person. No one stops him. A general rule 586 forbids a person to interfere in the marital affairs of relatives. It 602 is only when a woman is mistreated that an uncle or some other relative will definitely take her part (101); the situation is different if she runs away.

101. Bridges (a):202 emphatically expressed this principle: "A father-in-law or brother-in-law does not take his daughter's or sister's part against her husband, unless he severely injures

/791 cont./

601 192 daughter, the one before all others." sāpa, "blood" (11, 50. 51; 22, 44), sāpa, do., sāpan(ī)a, "to menstruate," tūri, "the first menstruation, "wēlix, "menses." kīmūakīpa, "a woman who is convalescing after a severe illness" (fam.).

aua kōŏandaulumūa kōŏjin, "he is a man who does not belong to my family or to my place." aua kōŏan hai annŭ, "I am a man who is not closely related to him." mamāgwiamalim, "a man and his children, the whole family." matūkwiamalim, "a man and his wives who are related to one another. annŭ mamōkus ŏŏndaian, "those who are brothers and sisters to one another, they are brothers," mamōkus-pai, "two who are brothers," mamōkus-yamalim, "brothers, companions." mamāgū(pai), "a father and his sons, a mother and her sons." hauiyama' ūsi-ndaulum ūa, "a man from my region."

maaimpai, maaimyamalim, "two and more who are brothers."

maaikīpāpai, maaikīpaimalim, "two and more who are sisters."

aniŭali, "a person who has little influence or is unprotected against injustice because most of his male relatives are dead." arūgo, "orphan," ŏrūkūŭki, ŏrūkū(a), "one who has neither father nor mother, a double orphan."

wōŏakīya, orphan boy
yōŏōla, an orphaned child
pillus sons and daughters of someone murdered (m.)
tauwōlūwa, a man in mourning for child, parents, brother, or sister

wōsakīyakīpa, orphan girl
yōŏōlakīpa, a double orphan
pillusŭkipan, daughters of someone murdered (m.)
tauwōlūwŭkīpa, a woman in mourning for child, parents, brother, or sister

/792/

tōpōr(ŭw)a, father or brother of someone murdered

tōpōrakīpa, a mother of someone murdered, her son or sister /sic; daughter/, her brother or sister

tōpōra, "relatives, such as mother or father and brothers and sisters, of someone murdered." tōpōrana, "the obligation to exact vengeance on the murderers of someone's child or brother or sister." mēaŏōlāpai, "two persons, boys, who are orphans."

[627] hikapilluŭ, hikōŏka, "a boy whose father or mother drowned."

[603] ūsiluŭwa, an expression applied to a place instead of its real name, out of respect for the dead person who was named after it.

1: Gusinde--635 E-5 (1918-1924) 1937 SH6 Yahgan SH6

/802 cont./

single person with legal authority at the head of the whole tribe or the individual groups. Here we do not even have the institution of the kemsh of the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 423).

Similarly there is no authoritative judge over all the people; everyone must seek his own justice. He finds aid and support among his circle of kinsmen in cases of legal disputes. The settlement of a dispute is determined more or less by club law. Everyone is dependent upon himself and his nearest kinfolk for his defense, for, as Despard (b):716 assures us, "in Fireland is no king or magistrate. All men have equal rights and equal wrongs" /cited in English/. Decisions are, of course, not always just, and the absence of a non-partisan public authority based on legal principles damages character and weakens the sense of justice. Many inequalities with serious consequences develop on this foundation. Stirling has mentioned some of them: "This absence of chieftainship gives the violent spirits a better social position than they deserve, and a more dangerous sphere. It is left to individuals to avenge wrongs, at least for the most part; the strength and composure of a defined public opinion, vindicating right and proceeding to punish the wrong-doer are only exceptionally known. The law of the strongest prevails" /cited in English/ (MM:IV, 34; 1870).

It is to their own advantage that this Fuegian population is peacefully inclined. Outbreaks of violence in cases of legal disputes always affect /803/ only small circles and even this is infrequent. Among most of them an honest effort to be righteous and to observe tribal customs largely prevails. Infractions of the general feeling of justice and violations of the freedom of others seldom occur.

Among the Yamana there is no superior authority appointed by law, either for the entire tribal community or for smaller groups. There are always certain men, however, who, as a result of their advanced age and blameless character, their long experience and mental superiority, have a moral influence of such importance that it amounts to positive control (235). Thus

235. Fitz-Roy (a):178 realized: "There is no superiority of one over another, except that

/965 cont./

incomprehensible to us. They lose their equanimity particularly in cases of intentional insults and humiliations. This is even more true in instances of a serious offense against their own rights and especially of murder, each case of which is sooner or later avenged if the culprit does not atone for it in time. Almost no one quietly endures insults, no matter how small; instead, he uses the first good opportunity to obtain satisfaction. One must realize, however, that a person is able to wait years for this, and he may take his revenge at a time when the other party has almost completely forgotten the incident. Since the Yamana have such /986/ character traits, less serious brawls between individuals and between small groups are by no means rare. Bridges (i):13 has correctly characterized them as "very quarrelsome and touchy and the weaker were very careful not to offend the stronger and were very courteous in their manners and language, often dissembling with smiles and words of peace their hatred and disapproval" /cited in English/.

Since the entire tribe is broken up into very small family communities or hordes (p. 630), it is impossible from the start for considerable masses of people to band together for battles or wars. Inasmuch as actual revenge for murder is obligatory for the nearest kin of the murdered person, the matter is settled only between them and the opposite party. In any case, however, such occurrence rare in comparison with the above-mentioned quarrels. It would be entirely mistaken to assume that this ethnic group composed of several large divisions is constantly at war with its own kind. By nature they are anything but pugnacious, no matter how vengeful they are and how jealously sensitive of their personal honor. Anxious concern about their daily food requirements leaves them little time for the troublesome effort of constantly or almost constantly lying in wait for a hostile division.

We need not repeat here anything about the relations of our Yamana with the Selk'nam (p. 234 /untranslated/), whom they generally met with apprehension, and with their western neighbors (p. 241 /untranslated/) whom they feared as cannibals (405). Their

405. Hyades (q):240 speaks without sufficient proof of an alleged hatred which "shows itself especially with regard to the neighboring peoples, Alakaloof /Alacaluf/ that is often bloody"

/989 cont./

seriously and habitually. The same serious situation arises when a woman leaves her husband, for she usually tries to steal away because of a love affair with another man.

The thirst for revenge is, of course, most deeply aroused by an actual, premeditated murder, and nothing sets families against each other so violently as this act. For the Yamana every human life, even that of a child, is most precious and sacred (Bridges [b] 200). Hence murder is an utterly abhorrent deed (408). There

408. In this connection compare our account of infanticide (p. 528) and abortion (pp. 491, 535).

are exceptions, however. Most murders come about through adultery. For example, if a married man is looking for a new tie and leaves his wife without cause, her relatives take her part, and they demand that the faithless husband give an account of himself or they simply take the law into their own hands and murder him. They say: "This woman joined herself to this man and they should live together to the end of their lives; since he failed in his duty, he must be punished!" Divorce without adequate cause is an offense against a generally recognized law. Each murder of this kind unleashes a serious /990/ danger for another human life because of the obligation for blood vengeance, and the danger is even greater in the case of a murder for an insignificant reason (409). In view

409. Bridges (VSA:XI, 260;1864) mentions: "If a man kills another causelessly, his relations are greatly displeased, since it brings each one of them into danger. This is a great preventive to blood-shedding" /cited in English/.

of the dangerous position one puts himself into by an act of murder, the individual holds himself in check, even on occasions of greatest excitement and the almost unconquerable passion for revenge.

It must be said that murder is rare among the Yamana, although we cannot give exact figures (Cooper:174). On June 20, 1884, Bridges (MM:XVIII, 224; 1884) attempted some statistics on murder:

/990 cont./

266 though, as we know, they set great store by a dog. Whenever I /991/ wanted to discuss anthropophagy with them, they persistently refused because of aversion and disgust, and they shook their heads as a sign that they regard such a thing as impossible even among other peoples.

627 578 Every murder, no matter how the murderer justifies or excuses himself, brings revenge in its wake and usually involves a number of persons. Details will be given below. The yékamuš with his machinations is a by no means surprising cause of serious quarrels. It would be premature to go into that at this point; his behavior must first be described in detail, which will be done later. Hostilities and acts of murder arising from his interference are, as usual, settled by the parties involved and with the help of friendly yékamuš. Thus, the causes of discord and disputes among the Yamana are the same as among other peoples; in view of their character traits, the causes are primarily "insult, theft, adultery, and the death of a relative" /cited in English/ according to Lothrop (b):164 and Hyades (q):374. Mistreatment of the wife should be added. In general, quarrels and discord are not prolonged and sooner or later they are settled again. As has already been reported in Outes (g):59, "small differences are settled among themselves without much difficulty" /translated from Spanish/.

b. Ordinary Quarrels

578 The Yamana certainly are extraordinarily irascible and vengeful; sometimes they simply cannot control themselves and are little amenable to appeasing words. They are neither warlike nor combative by nature, however. This characterizes their natural inclination, but it by no means denies that they easily become involved in quarrels and brawls. "They are," as Hyades (q):374 confirms, "very susceptible and, as a result, inclined to quarrels and strife" /translated from French/. Their predominant tendency is to live in peace with others as much as possible and not to become involved in disputes. This is the sole reason why a family will sometimes remain hidden for years and have no contact, or almost none, with any of their countrymen. Despard

/992 cont./

or less furious, according to the nature of the combatants. Women, after a brief battle of words, flare up more quickly, seize each other more brutally, bite some part of the body, strike with their fists against mouth and nose and scuffle while pulling very painfully and convulsively on a thick bunch of hair. They do not say anything, but merely hiss and groan. Usually men or other women must pull the raging pair apart. From the start, men try to keep hostile women away from each other. Therefore, the women take advantage of a lonely meeting in the woods or on the beach, where they can really show each other their mutual dislike. Not every man is sufficiently confident of his strength and courage to fight with his opponent (413), and therefore he consciously avoids

413. Nevertheless, Bove (e):159 has correctly observed: "Quarrels and fights are common, even in Uschuwaia itself, so that, after one has spent a few days there, their occurrence is no longer surprising."

the other's presence and finally forgets unimportant annoyances, but he always avoids coming in contact with someone who might involve him in a brawl.

We insert here an incident that Bridges (i):13 noted in his diary: "Ushuaia, March 24th, 1872. Hatuswaianges very ill from the effect of injuries received from Couiluj who was jealous of him (414). March 28th. This morning Hatuswaianges died.

414. He suspected him of adulterous relations with his wife, according to Bridges (MM:VI, 125; 1872). On May 20, 1872, he (loc. cit.) described this quarrel in more detail.

He has been in a very dull state...I fear that the violence of Couiluj has caused his death. March 31st. There have been some few demonstrations of anger by one and another for the death of Hatuswaianges and Couiluj has had to give away his blubber and other things, and in other ways to suffer. 8th [April]. Today a party of 16 canoes arrived with intent to avenge the death of Hatuswaianges, /993/ Couiluj made his escape...The occupants

/993 cont./

627 of the 16 canoes, having landed, lost no time in meeting the people here. All on both sides, men and women, were armed with sticks, spears or paddles and all who were connected with Hamswaiangas or Couiluj indicated the same by the paint on their faces. They hastened on and Meacol presented himself as the chief object of their revenge, being the nephew on his mother's side of the manslayer... There was much shouting and rushing about, great noise and confusion, much threatening and fierceness of manner, but very few blows. Meacol, after the affair was over, was obliged to lay down the principal of his possessions to further appease the angry feelings of the dead boy's relatives... July 11th. Went to seek Couiluj who has been hurt by a cousin of the boy Hamswaiangas of whose death he was the cause. His head is much hurt and he received several blows about the body" /cited in English/.

518 The fight between two men sometimes starts in a flash and is usually over after a few minutes. In the case of particularly angry opponents who are a match in strength it sometimes lasts longer, and now and then others are also embroiled, for anyone who sees his relative or friend fighting an opponent immediately comes to his aid. Thus, from a single fight a disorderly scuffle of two groups developes, and in the end even the women join in. A fight between individuals is the most common, however. The two seize each other by the throat, wrestle, scratch each other's faces, use their fists indiscriminately, grasp the head of their opponent in an effort to break his neck, and spend their strength. The individuals on the peripbery of the entanglement attach themselves to the convulsively locked pair or seize stones and sticks which they hurl with great force. Even the wildest brawls of this kind die down after a few minutes. Panting and groaning, the excited opponents withdraw and creep into their huts where they sink down exhausted and thereafter do not even mention the fight again. This is precisely the course of most of the fights. Of course if people notice that the two
519 opponents are becoming excited and show signs of preparing for a scuffle, they try to calm them with amicable words, hide their weapons, and forcibly keep them apart, but such mediation is not always possible. The situation is actually just as Bridges (VSA:XI, 260; 1864) has described it: "A single combat often ends in two whole families fighting together, when they try not to kill, but

/993 cont./

579 to merely subdue" /cited in English/. In the same vein Hyades (q):374 adds: "All weapons are then good for the fight: fists, stones, sticks, slings, harpoons, arrows" /translated from French/.

As an example here is an account of a fight reported by Bridges (ASM XIII, 153; 1879) on March 7, 1879, which arose from unhappy marital conditions: "One day, a certain man named Richard Ahmoodmeeman, who has taken Joe's sister to wife, and through her and his own evil passions brought himself /994/ into much turmoil, went down to Jominaze wigwam to fetch his eloped wife. He went in a very threatening manner, with spear in hand, into a hornet's nest. The ill-will of her relatives had often been stirred up by his violence to her, and now seeing him come among them in this threatening manner, their evil passions overflowed all bounds and a savage assault was made. Richard's friends came to his aid, and a scene of universal broil and violence was the result. It occured during the dinner hour. As usual I rang the bell for work, but no workmen appearing, I rang a second time; still none came. At last Samuel came up to tell me all the people were in a great uproar, and had hurt each other very much" /cited in English/.

Such brawls -- there is no other name for these quarrels -- are neither premeditated nor carried out according to a specific pattern (415). It would be inaccurate to speak of actual battles;

> 415. "When they fight, it is generally an affray of women, stones, spears, and clubs, with many on both sides" /cited in English/, according to Bridges (a):207. This missionary has a number of times expressed himself in these words, and he is quite right.

"among the Yahgans there are never expeditions of war" /translated from French/, according to Hyades (q):374.

• 627 These public brawls and noisy scuffles are clearly distinct from the particular hostilities which I should like to characterize as consciously premeditated acts of revenge, with which someone will settle an injustice from far in the past. It is either despondency and cowardice or the knowledge of his opponent's superior strength

/394 cont./

that makes a wealthy act seem advisable to a person. This is a favorite procedure of the yékamuš. The following method has proved successful. A person who wishes to do away with his opponent incognitously will discuss his plan with two or three trusted friends. One day they invite the opponent in the most unobtrusive way possible to accompany them on a hunt for young or full-grown cormorants. The other may not and will not refuse the invitation because of the compulsory rules of social intercourse. Unsuspecting, he has himself be tied to a rope at the top of the steep rock wall and slides down (p. 138). At the proper moment and without any kind of signal, his adversaries cut the rope at the top, and he plunges down and breaks his neck. These malefactors afterwards tell other people that the man, due to his own carelessness, was killed on the cormorant hunt. Ipsen: 68 mentions this stealthy procedure, as Ostos (p. 58) did earlier, and is right in calling it "a favorite way of killing an enemy" /cited in English/; this method, however, is rarely used.

The plant kingdom offers not a single efficacious poison, but the blubber of the grampus špíači (Orca magellanica), a pilot fish of the large cetaceans (p. 37 /untranslated/), is regarded as poisonous. I was assured, confidentially, that this blubber had been given now and then, its efficaciousness having been discovered long ago. Masemiliano told me the following story which is widespread. Once in the west several people found a dead špíači lying on the beach. /395/ Its meat and fat were still fresh, so some of them ate some of it. Soon afterward these people died. Once Hiwaten also came to this place. He was a crafty man. Before he ate, he wanted to find out whether this fat caused death. Unobtrusively he gave a man a small piece of it. The man immediately died. Thereupon he said to himself: "Good, that serves my purpose!" He took a large piece of fat from the špíači, cut it into small pieces, and filled a pouch made of the stomach of a šíšuf (Chloëphaga hybrida). Then he returned to the east. If he wanted to kill someone, he stealthily stuck a small piece of the fat from the špíači into the person's food. He did this several times and a number of men died. Hiawaten was quite generally hated and avoided because of his malevolent disposition. -- Thus it was through him that the actual or alleged strength of this poison became known.

1: Gusinde--937 E-S (1918-1924) 1937 SH6 Yahgan SH6

/1924 cont./

c. The Commonweal

627 The Yamana are linked together in a definitely circumscribed area by a common language and a uniform way of life, but as a whole they are not under the administration of an authoritative person (p. 906), nor are the various groups, large or small, led by a chief (p. 602). In reality there are a number of strong but invisible forces which command with coercive force and which without doubt must be deemed a supreme power. This imposes order upon relationships which lie outside the organization of the sole social structure, the family, and for which the public, so to speak, is responsible. In this category belong the administration of justice and many obligations or customs which have already been discussed. The public itself is responsible for the enforcement of individual regulations and vigilantly backs them.

1. Rules of Justice

183 627 The coherence of our Fuegian society is possible only on the basis of a conception of justice which protects each person and at the same time obligates him, both in an effective manner. Everyone retains his personal freedom and a far-reaching independence, but, along with these, there are also many obligations anchored in universal justice. One must not underestimate their number; moreover, like a net, they encompass all relationships. For example, these obligations determine the everyday life of the man and woman, the mutual relations of husband and wife, parents and children, closest relatives, local groups, and dialect groups, the public education of young people outside the family in the čiéxaus, and the further education of boys in the kina; they secure material possessions and personal safety from any kind of danger. This system of justice is not written, and no one can boast of being permitted to administer it. It simply exists and is supported by the public, which sustains justice and guards against its being altered. Expressed in a few general formulas, it is traced back to Watauineiwa as its source, which determines its immutability and its binding force.

626 208 /1018/ Nevertheless, properly understood, public opinion could be regarded as the guardian and executor of the individual obligations which universal justice has created. The judgment of the public is reliable and decisive, not that of the individual person who speaks for his own advantage. Public opinion evaluates every concrete detail of traditional custom which is regarded as a reliable and immutable standard. No one concerns himself about purely theoretical considerations. Hence the judgment of public opinion is instantly effective. Anyone whom it concerns must yield to it absolutely and immediately if he wants to save himself from being universally ostracized. This strikes every guilty person harder than severe blows. Our Yamana are unfamiliar with any kind of formal judiciary. Instead, to put it briefly, just action is approved without reservation and every unjust act is definitely condemned by the public. In both cases the public expresses itself loudly and fearlessly, for it has the advantage in any case over the private individual. The great pressure it puts upon a person can be clearly seen from the fear which everyone, not only the average Indian, has of a bad reputation and even more of public ostracism. If he sees himself censured by it, he promptly hastens back to the path of virtue and constantly tries with exaggerated zeal to change the bad opinion about him into a good one. None of this matters, however, to a dishonorable person who has lost all sense of shame. In former times such persons were scarcely to be found; only recently, under the influence of some Europeans have they sunk so low that they must avoid the company of their fellow-tribesmen. An attentive observer does not fail to note this state of affairs since it is so significant. Hyades (q.:263 writes: "When they steal among themselves, they seek as much as possible to conceal their thefts; when the culprit is discovered and chastised, public opinion is satisfied. The murderer is ostracized by his compatriots; isolated from everyone, he is fatally condemned to perish of hunger or someday to fall under the blows of a group of extemporaneous judges. Mr. Bridges in his conversations with us has put a great deal of emphasis on the importance of public opinion among the Fuegians" /translated from French/. One could speak of public opinion as the guardian of laws and as the avenger of serious transgressions. It acts no less successfully than a police force or a court of justice.

627 In all this the individual is by no means without rights; in

/1925 cont./

627 fact, his specific rights are recognized and defended. Sometimes it is definitely up to him to seek his own justice. This is particularly true in case of a murder, and similarly if someone suffers damage to his vital possessions or if his reputation or that of his close relatives and friends is belittled. A person whose own life is threatened or whose close relative falls into the hands of a murderer has a right to exercise club law (442). This is most

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442. Compare Gusinde (E.) 169. Among the Yamana there is absolutely no trace of an actual death penalty applied in various ways and according to a particular type of crime, as is reported in Outes (g) 58.

obviously revealed in the obligation for blood vengeance, which affects a wide circle of people (p. 901). /1926/ Public opinion is the indisputable, sole power that preserves all their arrangements and their traditional customs. It also is the means for providing the individual and the community adequate satisfaction for any injustice which they have suffered. All kinds of proof of this are offered by each of the different age groups and in everyday life with its changing events.

577 626 Inasmuch as the individual is a member of the whole -- no matter whether this is thought of as a small or large circle -- his honor is also its honor, and from this our Fuegians derive the duty to protect and defend, not only the reputation, but the rights of the other person generally. Everyone must intercede in favor of his relatives and close friends; he must defend their good reputations and their possessions. For example, this implies that in the presence of guests one must not speak disparagingly of their habits or their home districts; should one do so, the guests would immediately have to defend themselves. Following this line one also finds an explanation for the fact that disputes between two or three persons are supposed to be adjusted as soon as possible by those who are close to them. It is even more imperative for everyone to see to it that he is on the best of terms with his relatives, that he does not treat them even in an unfriendly fashion, much less harm them or wrong them. The Yamana use a very meaningful word, according to BD:428, tauwirŭ, "to rebuke with much to-do the relatives